

Freedom

A JOURNAL OF ANARCHIST COMMUNISM.

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MONTHLY; ONE PENNY

The Revolution in Russia and the General Strike.

On the whole, events in Russia are well known. Our readers follow them no doubt from day to day in the dailies. Therefore, here we will deal solely with two important facts—the general strike and the peasant revolts.

It will no doubt be remembered that after having made himself abhorred by all, as a consequence of the massacres of January 22nd last at St. Petersburg and those in Poland, as also of the police rule to which the whole Empire was subjected, Nicholas II. at length resigned himself in August last, and signed the manifesto convoking the famous Duma.

The general feeling provoked by this Boulyghin Constitution was one of complete stupefaction. Russia was called upon to have elections, but with a suffrage so limited that fewer than 100,000 men in a population of 135,000,000 were to be allowed to take part in the electoral farce. The peasants were admitted to none but elections at the third degree, which would end by cooking down a population of 90,000,000 to a few thousand electors. And lastly, to crown this, the Duma was to have no rights save those of tendering advice to the autocrat. He, with his State Council, nominated by himself, would decide. In a word, it was soon evident that Russia would never be persuaded to go through this absurd and useless electoral comedy.

Matters stood there without a chance of advancing. The state of siege continued, the Press dared not speak, the governors-general acted like satraps, exiling the discontented by orders which they themselves issued on their own authority, and all Russia was on fire. In Poland police officials, governors, gendarmes, and spies were killed at an average of three in a week; at Baku and Nahitchevan the Tartars massacred the Armenians; in the Baltic provinces the insurrection was in permanence: at Riga and Reval regular battles were fought in the streets. Finland menaced with a general uprising; at Odessa one-half of the buildings in the port were burnt, and the heroic sailors of the "Potemkin" had mutinied. Russia was gnawing at her tether.

It was then that the great general strike broke out in October last, and at once it spurred the Revolution forward. This general strike had long since been spoken of. In February, Poland had already attempted it with success; but you know the old ditty: "Oh, such an Utopian scheme, worthy of you Anarchists. Years of organising work are needed to prepare a general strike. To begin with, a war-chest is necessary." We all know the tune; but this is what happened. The bakers of Moscow struck, and the printers and compositors followed suit. Once again, it was not the work of the Socialist organisations. The working men themselves ceased work for the purpose of improving their conditions of life. Thereupon troops were called out; but this time the working men offered armed resistance. Three hundred bakers, armed with revolvers, barricaded themselves in a garret and fought against the Cossacks. Many of them were killed, but as a result all the workers of Moscow ranged themselves with the strikers. Whilst the theorists were still arguing that general strikes were impossible, the workers visited all the workshops and caused all work to cease. In a few days the strike became general.

All work was suspended in the town as well as on the railroads which converge at Moscow. The city was starving. The provisions which arrived daily from the neighbouring provinces were rotting along the railway lines. No bread, no water, no gas, no electricity—complete darkness reigning. No smoking factory chimneys; no tramways, no papers save the proclamations of the Strike Committee. Thousands of passengers unable to continue their journeys herded and camped, starving in the stations. For the tons of letters which accumulated, the post office was forced to rent special sheds wherein to store them. And little by little the strike spread to St. Petersburg, to the provinces, to Poland, and to Finland, until all Russia was soon following the example set by Moscow.

Gradually the enthusiasm of the workers was caught by other classes. The clerks, the employés of all the commercial enterprises, the teachers, the bank assistants; then the actors, the lawyers, the chemists, the engineers, even the judges made common cause with the

strikers. Even the waiters from the restaurants went on strike putting out the lights in restaurants after seven o'clock.

In Finland, the house-servants received the order from the strikers that they were not to commence work before seven in the morning, and were to cease working at seven in the evening. A whole nation had thus struck against its Government—all save the troops. And yet! were not officers and uniformed Government officials seen at the strikers' meetings, and soldiers in the ranks of the demonstrators?

What irritated the governing classes above all was that the strikers avoided any conflict with the troops, and offered no pretext for re-establishing "order" by massacres. Thus, at Moscow, a column of strikers approached the station of the St. Petersburg railway. The strikers saw the troops. Then they immediately changed their direction, and disbanded; but fifteen minutes later the engines, sent forth at full speed, were to be seen colliding and destroying one another, while the carriages were in flames along the rails, all at a few hundred feet behind the troops!

It was only then that Nicholas II., who had been all the time consulting in turns the reactionaries and then Witte, seeing that the former would not risk their heads to save autocracy, pronounced himself in favour of Witte, and signed the manifesto of October 30th, which is in reality an abdication of autocracy.

During this strike a new force was born—the force of the workers affirming their power, and putting to work that lever of all revolutions—*direct action*.

During those days when not a paper was appearing in St. Petersburg, the *Bulletin* of the Council of Workers appeared daily; and the delegates of the Workers' Council, whose names and addresses were unknown, when they appeared in the streets, were listened to with perfect faith by the crowds. These delegates had been nominated by the working men, just like the revolutionary Commune of the 10th of August, and they themselves nominated their executive of eight members.

To-day it is known that the 300,000 workmen of St. Petersburg are divided into groups of 500, and every group nominates a delegate. This is exactly, we see, like the Central Committee which preceded the Commune, and, like their predecessors, this Council for the time being represents the revolutionary forces of the labouring classes. It may also be taken as certain that everywhere in the provinces the workers organise themselves in the same way.

As to the power of this force—it is best seen from the way in which it has abolished censorship in Russia. Thus, while Witte's functionaries were elaborating some miserable little law on the Press, the Labour delegates abolished on November 3rd censorship for the papers in the following manner. They announced in their *Bulletin* that "from to-morrow, if an editor continues to send his sheet before it leaves the printing office, to the censor, we shall confiscate all the copies in the streets; we shall invite the printers to leave the office, charging the strike committee to defray their losses; but if they refuse to come out, they will be boycotted and the presses of the paper will be destroyed." It was thus that preventive censorship was abolished at St. Petersburg. The same methods were employed later on at Moscow, and to-day (November 24th) we learn that the same measures have been taken for "all books and other printed matter."

Here we have *direct action* at work. The Russian working men, by applying on a large scale the general strike and direct action, have proved that their Western brothers were perfectly right in recommending these two weapons for the workmen's emancipation.

True that the hitherto won victories are but political victories, which have not added one ounce of either bread or meat to the scanty fare of the working man; but apparently the working men will not limit their action to these successes. Thus, whereas the *legar* day in Russia is an eleven hours' one, which means sixty-six hours per week, the Russian working men, at least in St. Petersburg, do not work more, properly speaking, than eight hours a day, and often only forty-two hours per week.

They obtain this concession by *direct action*. They do what we have ceaselessly advocated. After having done eight hours' work they say good evening to the boss and go home. The manufacturers are in despair, but since the slaughter of Red Sunday (January 22nd) it has been impossible to force the St. Petersburg workmen to work more than eight hours a day.

Of course an eight-hour day is yet four or five hours too much for the miserable wages they get. But that victory, gained by means of direct action, is still a victory, whereas the same eight-hour day if it

were obtained from a Parliament would have been a miserable compromise for men who profess Socialist principles.

A few words must now be said about that other powerful element of the Russian Revolution, the peasant revolts.

We know that the French Revolution would have terminated in smoke had not the peasant revolts continued for four or five years, until the feudal rights were abolished without redemption in June and July, 1793. The same holds good for Russia. The peasant revolts have already lasted more than one year, with but temporary abatement at harvest time, and they roll as waves over different parts of the country. In all these revolts the peasants show a remarkable unity of action, and an astonishing talent for organising. It is the village community which decides the day on which to begin. On the given day all the peasants harness their horses to their carts and go to the proprietor. There they take out of his granaries what they need, or the necessary fuel from his forests, and then they return, maintaining throughout the best of order. If no resistance is offered, nothing else is touched. It is only when the Lord of the Manor calls out the troops that the peasants pillage and burn his estate; if some landlords have been killed, it is quite exceptional. It is those who protect the estates and mansions who massacre, and they have just killed more than a hundred peasants in the province of Tambov.

Everywhere the peasants declare, with wonderful unanimity, that the land belongs to them, and that they will take possession of it. They might pay a redemption if the landlords agree at once, but "the land must belong to us," the peasants say unanimously, and there is no doubt that they will have it.

To imagine that the Government may win peasants over to its side by such concessions as a feudal or bourgeois Government could make them is simply foolish, and the peasant revolts will continue, and with them—the Revolution. It is also obvious that the Revolution will not be accomplished in a couple of months. It will last several years. But that which has taken place up to the present time already proves that the revolution in Russia will take a social character. How far it will go in this direction none can say. But the Socialist development of half a century has not been in vain. It will have its effect in the present turmoil. In any case, all the middle-class elements have already faded before the two great forces which have outlined themselves in this Revolution, the peasants and the working men in towns. And two modes of action have shown themselves in this struggle—the general strike and direct action.

It is very probable, therefore, that the workers in the towns will understand the force which this latter, added to the former, gives them; and very probably they will imitate the peasants in taking hold of all that which is necessary for life and production, thus cementing together the first foundations of a communist Commune!

S.

THE REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA.

(Letter addressed by Peter Kropotkin to the Great Meeting held at "Wonderland," Whitechapel, on November 3, 1905.)

Comrades,—When you decided to convoke this meeting, the revolutionary movement in Russia was only just beginning. And to-night we can already speak of the first victory of the Russian people.

True, that up till now the net result of the victory consists chiefly of promises. And promises of the Russian Tsar can as easily be broken as were broken the promises which the Austrian Emperor gave to his people after the Vienna insurrection of March 18, 1848.

However, the main point is that these promises were wrested by the people. And still more so that they were wrested by means of a general strike. And therefore the general strike, which yesterday was considered an impossibility, has proved to be so powerful a weapon for the revolution that the working men of other countries in Europe and America surely will not fail to resort to it.

What is most promising in the Russian movement is that the people has not been misled by mere promises.

At St. Petersburg, at Moscow, at Warsaw, and in all other cities it was understood at once that only certain vague promises of certain political rights had been given; but that nothing had yet been made, or even said, which would give a hope of a new departure in the economical life of the peasants and the working men. And even as regards the political promises, the Romanoffs, till now, have given no pledge of their sincerity.

In Western Europe, each time the ruling classes endeavoured to make peace with the people, and intended to assert that a new move in politics was going to be made, they promulgated a general amnesty. Not longer ago than last Monday they have done something similar in France; and so it was done always and everywhere. But till now in Russia our brothers remain imprisoned—over twenty years already—in that terrible Russian Bastille, the Schlüsselburg fortress.

What 'fête of Liberty' can there be so long as our brothers remain in Schlüsselburg and in the jails all over Russia? When more than 20,000 persons are still in exile, in the hamlets of the Far East and the Far North, in Russia and Siberia!

There is no need to write long-worded laws to put an end to this. A long-worded amnesty is no amnesty at all; it is a lie! A real amnesty can be written in three or four lines:—All condemned for political crimes, for strikes, for agrarian disturbances, for armed resistance, and for breach of laws about military service, strikes, press, etc., are set free. All prosecutions for such affairs are terminated. That is all.

But this unavoidable first step has not yet been made. No pledge of sincerity has yet been given. And if the amnesty is not enforced upon them, they won't give it.

Then all promises of political liberties will remain a dead letter so long as garrisons of from twenty to fifty thousand men remain in the big towns. Not only the state of siege, great and small, has to be abolished at once (and again this does not require long-worded laws), but the garrisons must not remain in the cities. They are a menace to the people. Eighty thousand of the Guard of St. Petersburg are the stronghold of autocracy and of all political oppression.

At the same time they are the stronghold of the most reckless industrial exploiting of the working man.

Against Capital the working man has only one arm—the strike. But no strike can be successful when tens of thousands of soldiers and hundreds of guns are brought out in the streets as soon as the working man decides rather to starve than to submit to the arrogant demands of the capitalists.

The Russian people—the working men—having compelled the autocrat to abdicate his despotic power, must compel him now to give body to his abdication by sending away the troops upon which rest his power and the power of bureaucracy, the power of unbridled capitalism.

The people must arm itself; otherwise the Tsar, the bureaucrats and the capitalists will crush it down.

They are right, therefore, those who now carry the red flag in the streets, claiming an amnesty, the sending away of the troops, and the arming of the people.

However, at the same time, the Russian working men must not forget their own demands. To guarantee the individual against police arbitrariness is necessary for all. But he who works and produces riches with his own hands requires something else.

When the working men began their general strike, they demanded the eight-hour day, an increase of their wages, insurance against illness and old age, and schools for their children. These demands are very modest. The working man's rights are wider than that. But, Why are even these modest demands already forgotten?

In the year 1848 the working men of Paris and Vienna also trusted the classes. Once they had obtained the promulgation of a Constitution in ruling Vienna and a Republic in France, they agreed to wait three months in the expectation that measures would be taken which would grant them something besides the freedom of speech and meeting which they had already taken themselves *de facto*.

And three months later the blood of the working men was freely running in the streets of both Paris and Vienna. And upon their corpses the middle classes built their power, which lasts till this day.

Russian working men! don't forget this lesson! If you are compelled to-morrow, after the Constitution has been proclaimed, to return to the factories the same slaves as you have been before, then you will have been betrayed in the same way as your brothers were betrayed in Vienna and in Paris.

Don't expect anything from would-be saviours. But in every factory, every building yard, every workshop, and every mine, establish yourselves the order of things which, by common accord, you will find proper to establish. But remember this: Don't allow others to interfere! It is your affair, and you have to settle it.

Accomplish yourselves a revolution in the organisation of labour as you have accomplished it in the general administration of the Russian State.

Don't trust those who will tell you:—"Not yet! It is too soon!" No, it is not too soon; it is just the time for it.

The working men of all the civilized world will be with you if you boldly take upon yourselves that great task.

Long live the Social Revolution—in Russia and everywhere!

PETER KROPOTKIN.

Bromley, Kent, Nov. 3, 1905.

LITERARY NOTES.

L'Insurgé (97, rue Laixheau, Herstal-Liège, Belgium), on November 11, began to publish Elie Reclus's diary during the Paris Commune, entitled: *The Paris Commune Day by Day*.

Thanks to the generosity of our comrades of the Chicago Debating Club No. 1, we have received 100 copies of a pamphlet entitled *The Social General Strike*, by Arnold Roller (24d. post free from Freedom Office). It consists of 32 pages, and gives a very full statement of the aims and ideas of the General Strike, and also a sketch of the general strikes of recent years. We strongly recommend it to those who wish to learn the true history of these events. The Social Democrats in England might read it with advantage, for they seem to be at loggerheads on the subject. In a recent number of *Justice* a writer was sneering at the General Strike as an Anarchist idea, and only to be used to gain political power; while a week after, in the *Clarion*, Hyndman stated that he had "never believed in the General Strike as a means for mere political action, or in order to secure, or to maintain, universal suffrage"; but that "as a preliminary weapon in the great struggle for economic emancipation, deliberately planned beforehand, I can imagine nothing more effective."

The Société Nouvelle de Librairie et d'Édition, 17, rue Cujas, Paris (Ve.), has just published the first volume of *L'Internationale*, by James Guillaume. It is a work of the very first importance to all interested in the history of Socialism in general and of this remarkable organisation in particular. A mass of documents relating to resolutions and discussions at the congresses of the International are here printed for the first time. We hope to give an exhaustive review in our next issue. The price of this volume, which contains a portrait of Constant Meuron, is 4f. 50c.

"A VINDICATION OF NATURAL SOCIETY."

This well-known pamphlet by Edmund Burke (1756) has been reprinted by A. Fifield, 44, Fleet Street, E.C., and can be obtained from *Freedom* office: 7d. post free, cloth 1s. 2d. The following extracts will give the reader a desire to study the pamphlet for himself:—

"There is a most absurd and audacious method of reasoning, advanced by some bigots and enthusiasts, and through fear assented to by some wiser and better men; it is this. They argue against a fair discussion of popular prejudices, because, say they, though they would be found without any reasonable support, yet the discovery might be productive of the most dangerous consequences. Absurd and blasphemous notion! As if all happiness was not connected with the practice of virtue, which necessarily depends upon the knowledge of truth; that is, upon the knowledge of those unalterable relations . . . that every thing should bear to every other. These relations, which are truth itself, the foundation of virtue, and consequently the only measures of happiness, should be likewise the only measures by which we should direct our reasoning. To these we should conform in good earnest; and not to think to force Nature, and the whole order of her system, by a compliance with our pride and folly, to conform to our artificial regulations. It is by a conformity to this method we owe the discovery of the few truths we know, and the little liberty and happiness we enjoy. . . . The fabric of superstition has in this our age and nation received much ruder shocks than it has ever felt before; and through the chinks and breaches of our prison, we see such glimmerings of light, and feel such refreshing airs of liberty, as daily raise our ardour for more."

"Civil government borrows a strength from ecclesiastical; and artificial laws receive a sanction from artificial revelations. The ideas of religion and government are closely connected, and whilst we receive government as a thing necessary and even useful to our well-being, we shall in spite of us draw in, as a necessary though undesirable consequence, an artificial religion of some kind or other. To this the vulgar will always be voluntary slaves; and even those of a rank of understanding superior, will now and then involuntarily feel its influence. It is therefore of the deepest concern to us to be set right on this point; and to be well satisfied whether civil government be such a protection from natural evils, and such a nurse and increaser of blessings, as those of warm imaginations promise."

"A man is allowed sufficient freedom of thought, provided he knows how to choose his subject properly. You may criticise freely upon the Chinese constitution, and observe with as much severity as you please upon the absurd tricks, or destructive bigotry of the bonzes. But the scene is changed as you come homeward, and atheism or treason may be the names given in Britain to what would be reason and truth if asserted of China. . . . It is very obvious that a picture might be drawn of excesses of party even in our own nation. I can show that the same faction has in one reign promoted popular seditions, and in the next been a patron of tyranny; I could show that they have all of them betrayed the public safety at all times, and have very frequently with equal perfidy made a market of their own cause and their own associates; I could show how vehemently they have contended for names, and how silently they have passed over things of the last importance; and I could demonstrate that they have had the opportunity of doing all this mischief, nay, that they themselves had their origin and growth from that complex form of government which we are wisely taught to look upon as so great a blessing."

"Ask of politicians the end for which laws were originally designed, and they will answer, that the laws were designed as a protection for the poor and weak against the oppression of the rich and powerful. But surely no pretence can be so ridiculous; a man might as well tell me he has taken off my load, because he has changed the burden. If the poor man is not able to support his suit, according to the vexatious and expensive manner established in civilized countries, has not the rich as great an advantage over him as the strong has over the weak in a state of nature?"

"The most obvious division of society is into rich and poor; and it is no less obvious that the number of the former bears a great disproportion to those of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that of the rich, in return, is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery and increasing the burdens of

the poor. In a state of nature it is an invariable law, that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours. In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and invariable, that those who labour most, enjoy the fewest things; and that those who labour not at all, have the greatest number of enjoyments."

"The several species of government vie with each other in the absurdity of their constitutions, and the oppressions which they make their subjects endure. Take them under what form you please, they are in effect but a despotism, and they fall, both in effect and appearance too, after a very short period, into that cruel and detestable species of tyranny; which I rather call it, because we have been educated under another form than that; this is of worse consequence to mankind. For the free governments, for the point of their space, and the moment of their duration, have felt more confusion and committed more flagrant acts of tyranny, than the most despotic governments which we have ever known."

CARNEGIE'S LIBRARIES.

There's a scent on the books of dead men's bones,
And a spatter of blood over all;
There's a rough, ragged hole in each leaf you turn,
Like the wound from a rifleman's ball.
There's the last gasp of men shot down at command
Of this gracious and generous man;
There's the blood and the groan, the grief and the shame—
You picture it, any who can.
There's a picture of Homestead—will we ever forget
How those brave, ragged men were defencelessly slain—
Were slaughtered like beasts, like poor hunted beasts,
By Carnegie's will and for Carnegie's gain?
Will we ever forget how the mothers and wives
In their rags and their woe knelt down in the dust,
And clasped their dear dead then, just as they fell
By rifleman's ball or the bayonet's thrust?
Will we ever forget how the press of the land
Made light of the slaughter by saying: 'The dead
Were foreign-born men who, in impudence, asked
For the right to be living and earning their bread'?
Will we ever forget how, in sweatshop and mine,
The fathers and mothers and children are slain?
How virtue is bartered and childhood is crushed
By Carnegie's will and for Carnegie's gain?
How the skeleton babes, at the milkless breast,
Give their poor little lives to his greed?
How the girls on the street and the mothers in rags
Are reflecting his 'generous' deed?
And this is his gift, all shining with blood,
The gift that he proffers with arrogant hand;
This is his penance for murder and lust;
This is his jest to the slaves of the land.
But the books are not dumb, they have eloquent tongues
To tell you their pitiful story—
How the bodies and souls of women and men
Have built him his temple of glory.
How the walls are of bones cemented with blood,
And wet with the dropping of tears;
Of hearts that have broken for wrongs unwritten
These hundreds and hundreds of years.
For these wrongs to our comrades we'll never forget,
Nor this master of bread, with his cunning and greed,
And the gift that he proffers—we spurn it and scorn him,
For we hold it in keeping with his class and his deed.

ALICE T. SORENSON in the *Demonstrator*.

Antonelli and Barberi Defence Fund.

The following sums have been received since the previous list was published:—

Workers Friend Group	£3	0	0
T. H. Keell	0	1	1
Delphina	0	0	5
McAra	0	2	6
	£3	4	0

This sum has been divided between the wives of the convicted comrades.

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Notice to Subscribers.—If there is a blue mark against this notice your subscription is due, and must be sent before next month if you wish to go on receiving the paper.

In future all Money and Postal Orders should be made payable to T. H. Keell.

NOTES.

COMMERCIAL MORALITY.

The ex-Commissioner of the City of London Police, in an article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, lays bare some of the ulcers that fester under the cloak of bourgeois morality. The frock-coated, top-hatted criminals of the Stock Exchange and the City agencies will hardly thank him for his pitiless exposure of their ways and means. He evidently has had a wide, first-hand experience of the doings of these gentry, who he denounces in no measured terms. He says that "half the gentlemen one sees in the morning tumbling out of the trains from Bayswater and Putney, intent on picking their neighbours' pockets, would be engaged in picking oakum if there were in the City an official similar to the Procurator-Fiscal in Scotland." We are not interested as to the functions of this uncanny official, whoever he may be, but it requires no great depth of penetration to convince oneself that this same class of parasites flourish amongst the "unco guid." They are, indeed, the natural and inevitable products of commercialism, and, Procurator or no Procurator, will be found in every capitalist country, playing the part of very respectable and necessary props to the system.

SPARE THE ROD, ETC.

The amiable lady and gentleman who have just received a month's imprisonment for taking turns at beating their poor helpless servant girl have been taking their Bible too literally. They should have remembered that all these teachings require a certain interpretation to adapt them to modern ideas. If they had sought the advice of some of our present-day scientists, for instance, it would probably have been explained to them that the "rod" was in reality a psychological instrument, and meant no more than a moral appeal to the conscience, just as it can be shown, if the mind is only properly prepared to receive the fact, that our earth, and not the sun, is the real centre of the universe, and that all the occult manifestations at spiritualist seances are related to a power that in the past was called God, Jehovah, etc., etc. Not having the advantage of all this chicanery, they adhered to the old-fashioned view, and their stupid and brutal natures favouring it, they have fallen into the hands of the law, to be still further brutalised. We had much rather they had fallen into the hands of the poor girl's fellow servants, as we may be sure they would have given them a drubbing that would have effectually cured them of all love of the "rod."

THE PREY OF THE POLICE.

The acquittal of our Paris comrades of the charge of plotting against the life of the King of Spain, at whom, as our readers will remember, a bomb was thrown on his visit to Paris, brings to light once more the workings of the unspeakable secret police. It is a noticeable fact that all systems of government which are nearing their end tend more and more to rely on the most poisonous influences to resist the healthy life which grows in strength and intelligence, preparing for the conquest of the new world, and therefore threatens these worn-out systems in their corruption and decay.

The silly, spoilt child who calls himself the ruler of the Spanish people needed the help of a police plot to give him popularity in a Republican country. It was duly supplied. And as nothing would be easier than to credit it to the

Anarchists, the net was thrown around some of our Paris comrades. The scheme worked well at the time, but the *denouement* can hardly be to the taste of the vermin whose poisonous breath is even too baneful for Spanish officials, who gave most damning evidence against their own police. One in his evidence said they were the most corrupt in the world, and that after having seen them torture the prisoners at Montjuich he could conceive them to be guilty of anything.

Of all the numerous pests the State breeds to hinder the growth of what is best in our social life, there is nothing so morally injurious as the unspeakable foulness of the spy system, with its secret police and *agents provocateurs*. The dignity of all human life suffers by it, and the social atmosphere seems difficult to breathe when the odours from all this putrescence is in our nostrils. However, our comrades are free, and we send them hearty greetings and congratulations.

LOVE YOUR NEIGHBOUR.

Any reasonable person looking down those long vistas of narrow streets that abound in London, with their closely-built houses, and knowing the dense population that inhabits them, might surely wonder how all these people, packed like sardines yet having many varied occupations, needs and forms of amusement, so far from loving one another are not more often at one another's throats. A case in point has just come before Justice Farwell. A lady who was practising the piano and singing was sued by another lady who kept a private hotel. What fortuitous concourse of circumstances threw these poor victims into such an unhappy proximity only admirers of the present system could explain. Even that ass, the law, could not see why one lady should not play and sing if she chose, nor why the other lady should be injured in her business, and so had to confess its inability to solve the problem. Might the impractical Anarchist suggest just for once that in a rational system of society, where landlords had not the privilege of housing us like rabbits in a hutch, a little fresh air circulating round the four walls of our houses would not only benefit our health but also our own and our neighbours' tempers. As this is impossible for hundreds and thousands of us, the real problem is how to get rid of the landlords. Accomplish this and you will solve many problems besides the one of loving your neighbour as yourself.

McQueen Aid Fund.

The following statement has been received from Comrade Hillman:—

When we consider the time since we issued our subscription lists, the "appeals" we have made, and the labour and energy we have spent, and we look on the "grand total" of the above fund, then we must confess that we have not been successful enough.

We on our behalf do all that we can; and we appeal once more to the comrades—do all that you can!

To our great sorrow, the comrades do not seem to consider that if we do not assist the wife and children of our comrade they are helpless! And is it possible that we should forget our comrade while he is imprisoned. The success of our appeals will show that.

Up till now we have received the following subscriptions:—

List No. 45: Hall, Makowsky, Levenson, 2d. each; Barowsky, Bertner, Mandel, and Kaufman, 3d. each; Cohen and Uhrick, 6d. each; Lintner 1s. ... 0 3 6	List No. 31: Gogol and Croel, 2d. each; Subsax 3d.; Sam 1s. 6d.; Cohen 1s.; Goodstone 10d.; No Name 5d. ... 0 4 4
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Collection at Comrade Rucker's meeting in Leeds. Received from the <i>Freie Arbeiter Stimme</i> , per Comrade S. Yanowsky ... 14 0 0	List No. 35: A. Bloch ... 0 1 0
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	Debating Club No. 1, Chicago, per Comrade Appel ... 2 0 5
	List No. 13, per L. Freedom ... 0 14 6
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	List No. 3, per Morleit ... 0 2 0
	List No. 18, per R. Sigal ... 0 1 2
	List No. 5, per Biderman ... 0 2 4
	Collected by A. Berg, San Francisco ... 0 13 4
	<i>Freiheit</i> Group, Paterson, per M. Book ... 2 0 0
	Prof. Arnold Lupton ... 0 10 0
	Total ... £22 12 0½

Comrades and friends are kindly asked to send all donations direct to us, which will be published.

By the way, we beg to state that we are not responsible for funds which may be initiated by other people except the one we have here in Leeds.

Subscription Lists if desired can be obtained from the Secretary;

ARTHUR HILLMAN.

54, Samuel Street, Camp Road, Leeds, England.

** Any books on Anarchism, Socialism, or kindred subjects forwarded (if obtainable) on receipt of order and cash. Inquiries answered on receipt of stamped envelope.

ANARCHISM IN ENGLAND FIFTY YEARS AGO.

A Contribution towards the Elucidation of the Science of Society.

By a Member of the London Confederation of Rational Reformers.

"Liberty is the realisation of the sovereignty of the individual."

(London: J. Watson, Truelove, Goddard.)

The pamphlet advertised under this title in the *Reasoner*, of October 12 and 19, 1853, is, as far as I know, the first Anarchist propagandist pamphlet published in England. I cannot say where a copy of it may be found, but shall try to show to some extent under what circumstances the individualist Anarchist propaganda to which it belongs came into existence in the early fifties.

Godwin's *Political Justice* (1793) was never quite forgotten, and was even reprinted in the forties (2 vols., 12mo.). William Thompson's *Inquiry* (1824), however, though beginning in an almost Anarchist spirit, drifted into Owenism rather, and could not serve as a basis for an Anarchist movement. The mutualism of John Gray (1832, 1842, 1848) is logical, but dry, uninspiring, and anything but revolutionary. The individualism of W. Maccall is purely rhetorical, without aim, and purposeless. The rich Socialist literature of the forties contains no translation of Proudhon, no trace (as far as my limited knowledge goes) of any Proudhonist propaganda. It is wonderful that fifteen years of Chartism did not produce a single writer of mark who, after exposing the futility of the Chartist parliamentary panacea, would have arrived at Anarchism; the Owenites and simple co-operators of those times were anti-political, it is true, but that meant with most of them to acquiesce in any state of political oppression that might exist and just abstained from interfering with them. In France, after but one or two years of experience with representative assemblies (1848-49), parliamentarism was utterly rejected by several Socialists (Considérant, Rittinghausen, etc.) who advocated direct legislation; but the monstrous achievements of universal suffrage, the Napoleonic election and plebiscite, knocked the bottom out of this propaganda, which did not to any extent touch England at all, though one of Considérant's pamphlets was translated (London, 1851). So the field from which Anarchism might have sprung was almost barren.

In 1850 Thornton Hunt began to publish the *Leader*, a weekly review, which under his editorship (until January, 1852) was in some sort of contact with the advanced movements, but which later soon degenerated into a malignant anti-democratic paper. Probably the ideas of Josiah Warren (the time store) were known to the readers of Owenite papers by American letters for many years, but to a larger public some letters and reviews published since 1851 in the *Leader* probably first made Anarchism known. Herbert Spencer's *Social Statics* were given a very full review (March 15, 22, April 12, 1851), followed soon by four articles on Proudhon's French book, *Idée Générale de la Révolution au XIX. Siècle* (September 6, 13, 27, October 18, 1851). Here Proudhon's famous words of 1840 are reproduced, ending with: *I am an Anarchist*, and it added, "By 'Anarchy,' he means no more than what our admirable friend Herbert Spencer sets forth as the goal to which civilisation is irresistibly tending, viz., the final disappearance of Government, become unnecessary because men will have learned so to control themselves as to need no external coercion." In another place: "We caution the reader against a natural misapprehension of the word Anarchy, which is not used as synonymous with disorder; but simply what the Greek word implies, viz., absence of Government—absolute Liberty," etc.

In this paper, then, on July 19, 1851 was published a letter, signed "H. E." (New York, June 19), in which the writer, who went to America to join Cabet's Icarian Community, says: "Fourier is more known here than any other European Socialist writer, but Proudhon seems to me more adapted to meet the sympathies of American Socialism. He, in his paradoxical way, proclaims himself an Anarchist; and recently, in England, Herbert Spencer taught substantially the same thing, and tells you that Government is not to be regarded as an institution, to be for ever needful to man." Then he tells how he got acquainted with Stephen Pearl Andrews' *The True Constitution of Government in the Sovereignty of the Individual* (*The Science of Society*, No. 1, New York, 1851). "Here," he says, "the principle of absolute individualism—or, if Proudhon prefers, we will say Anarchy (an-arché)—is laid down in plain English unconditionally; but the party profess to have made a grand discovery, viz., of a principle which will render this absolute abolition of Government possible and practicable forthwith—at once, by such as choose." By this he refers to a book then in the press: *Cost the Limit of Price* (*The Science of Society*, No. 2, New York, 1853).

These ideas of individualist Anarchism (which I need not discuss here) were formed at the end of the twenties (1827) by Josiah Warren, an Englishman who had lived in Robert Owen's New Harmony Community, and then began various experiments by himself. His work, *Equitable Commerce a New Development of Principles as Substitutes for Law and Government*, in part published in 1846, was edited in New York in 1852 by Stephen Pearl Andrews; it was followed by *Practical Details in Equitable Commerce* (New York, 1852).

"H. E." is Henry Edger (born in Sussex, 1820, died in Versailles, 1888, a London barrister, later on an agriculturist in Modern Times, indications taken from Positivist publications). He sent several other letters to "Ion," the pseudonym of a contributor to the *Leader*. Next,

on March 4, 1851, a lady signing "M." wrote to William Pare on a lecture by St. P. Andrews at the North American Phalanx, in New Jersey, who mentioned the existence of an "equitable" village in Ohio, at that time; land had already been taken on Long Island, where the Modern Times community was soon to be started (the *Leader*, Sept. 6, 1851). On March 13, 1852, "Ion" publishes in the *Leader* a review of Andrews' *Science of Society*, which had also casually been mentioned in the *Westminster Review*. Henry Edger sends very full notes on Modern Times, as "Trialville" on Long Island had been called (November 21, 1851, in the *Leader* of March 27, 1852): "It seems to me not unworthy of remark that a heresy among social reformers should have sprung up simultaneously on both sides of the Atlantic. Proudhon and Andrews alike discard association, alike proclaim Anarchy; but Andrews, more intelligently to English ears, proclaims it as the sovereignty of the individual. Nor is Andrews alone here: a small party of thinkers, of whom Henry James and Dr. Curtis may be considered the chief, unite with him in teaching the doctrine that the individual is above the institution. Society is for man—not man for society." This is, of all the letters by Edger, the most descriptive and fullest of details scarcely anywhere accessible now, I believe. The *Leader* (August 14 and 21, 1852) reviews Henry James' *Lectures and Miscellanies* (New York, 1852), saying: "That his thoughts point in the direction of No Government, whither Proudhon, Herbert Spencer, and others also tend, will startle only those unaccustomed to modern speculations. Everywhere the Police becomes less and less a faith with thinking men; and the necessity for 'strong government' in the baser physical sense gets less recognition" (the latter qualification being the means by which the critic of the *Leader* usually retracts everything sensible he has advanced). I have looked up some of the writings of Henry James, but whatever good he may have had to say is hopelessly buried in religious twaddle, and it is impossible to resuscitate him as an Anarchist sympathiser of any use.

A year after his first visit H. Edger saw Modern Times again (letters in the *Leader*, January 8, 1853); the first winter had been very trying. "For, there being no association, the first leaders cherishing a horror of *Fraternity-sentimentalism*, everyone had to shift for himself as he best could." In 1853 H. Edger spent five months at the North American Phalanx, but expresses himself strongly in favour of Modern Times (letter of July, 1853, the *Leader*, September 10): "The intelligent portion of social reformers are nearly all looking in the direction of Modern Times." . . . "Social reforms, then, which limit themselves to industrial organisation, and studiously ignore the existence of the deepest and most wide-spread social disease, and the social want thereby indicated, may well be failures. . . . The Modern Times Reform alone attempts to grapple with this master difficulty, and it does it in the way at once manly and philosophical—of boldly guaranteeing to woman her natural right and highest duty: that of supreme sovereignty in her own legitimate domain—that of the affections. This is the central idea of Fourier's speculations, the identity of which with the Modern Times movement is again very remarkable. A movement which starts by eliminating altogether the idea of association or any combination of interests whatever, is coming to effectuate the very reforms which have in this country gone generally by the name of Associationism, while the associations themselves are sinking into inanition."

In this year Edger, who prepared to go to live at Modern Times, got hold of *Positivism*, which from that time onward he zealously propagated. Letters of January and February 5, 1854 (the *Leader*, July 8, 1854), and of March, 1854 (dated Modern Times, *ib.* July 22), show how it was possible for men of different social ideas to live together at Modern Times. "Beyond our one principle [that of the sovereignty of the individual]," he says, "we are in no wise responsible for each other's doctrines any more than for each other's acts, here, in our village of Modern Times. But our principle does this one thing, and here I distinctly take my stand: it unites all of us here in a firm, final protest against the competency of political authorities to decide questions of morals."

I have not found further letters by Edger in the *Leader*, but the little French volume *Lettres d'Auguste Comte . . . à Henry Edger et à M. John Metcalf* (Paris, Apostolat Positiviste, 1889) contains Comte's letters to H. Edger at Modern Times, 1854-57, published by Jorge Lagarrigue. Early in 1854 Edger sent his "full adhesion" to Comte, who was delighted over another example "of aptitude towards noble submission with souls who had been most led astray by anarchical utopias" (March 16, 1854). They agreed, it seems, on the "affinity of Catholicism and Positivism," and Comte recommends "the particular importance of a dignified contact with the Jesuits, to whom, I presume, the supreme direction of the Catholic movement in America belongs. You will feel in this way that their success prepares our success." These are not jokes, as can be seen from the article, "Auguste Comte et les Jésuites," by G. Dumas (*Revue de Paris*, October, 1898). Edger entertained Comte with a project of a sort of Positivist colony, which Comte at first rejected ("I cannot accept your proposal of a sort of Positivist monastery"); but Edger maintained his idea of an agricultural colony (1856), and tells Comte of the influence his ideas begin to exercise round him. Comte thinks that Modern Times may, some years hence, "really become a Positivist village," and after fifteen or twenty years the "spiritualist centre of a Positivist island [Long Island] which would soon form a separate State in the [United States] Federation."

If Comte addressed himself to the Jesuits, Robert Owen tried to

convert the kings of the Holy Alliance, Fourier looked to Napoleon and later on to the never arriving millionaire, and the St. Simonians endeavoured to win over a prince to their ideas. It was Blanqui who first struck the note of uncompromising revolutionary Socialism.

As to Henry Edger, we learn more about him and Modern Times from his pamphlet *Modern Times, the Labour Question and the Family* (Modern Times, October 8, 1855), which contains a fair general statement and an exposition of Positivism. I ignore his second tract: *Brief Exposition of Religious Positivism* (1856). His third "Modern Times Tract" is: *The Positive Community: Glimpse of the Regenerated Future of the Human Race. A Sermon Preached at Modern Times . . .* 5th September, 1863 (Modern Times, 1864), which is curious, as it shows his endeavour to put forward something real and tangible about Positivist aims.

Modern Times is best known now by Moncure D. Conway's description, *Fortnightly Review*, 1865; he visited it in 1860, and found all the Anarchist arrangements working very well. Of its end he reports there, as well as in his *Autobiography*, 1904, that "soon after the [American Civil] war broke out, most of those I had seen there sailed from Montauk Point on a small ship, and fixed their tents on some peaceful shore in South America" (*Autobiography*). I hope that fuller accounts are in existence, but have not seen them.

To return to England, Modern Times was described in *Chambers's Journal*, December 18, 1852—which I have not seen—and in a lecture by William Pare before the British Association at Glasgow, 1855, printed in the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, June, 1856, pp. 127-143 (*Equitable Villages in America*). Here is mentioned *The Periodical Letter on the Principles and Progress of the Equity Movement*, a monthly paper by Josiah Warren, since July, 1854, which like the *Social Revolutionist* and similar papers of early Anarchist experiments in America, seems to be quite inaccessible in Europe.

These remarks led me a long way from the consideration of the pamphlet of October, 1853, mentioned above. I saw it noticed only in a paragraph of the *Leader*, October 15, 1853, headed "New Society of Reformers," mentioning that this *London Confederation of Rational Reformers*—perhaps the first English Anarchist group—was "composed, we believe, of seceders from" J. Bronterre O'Brien's organisation, the National Reform League. This was their "initiator tract." Perhaps a paper that stands nearer to Bronterre O'Brien's party may contain further details; Ernest Jones's *People's Paper* contains none.

Meanwhile I can only add that the only other Anarchist publication of the fifties which I know is: *The Inherent Evil of all State Government Demonstrated*; being a reprint of Edmund Burke's celebrated essay, entitled, *A Vindication of Natural Society* [1756], with notes and an appendix, briefly enunciating the principles through which "Natural Society" may be realised. (London, Holyoake & Co., 1858, vi., 66 pp., 8vo). The notes and appendix are written by an unknown author entirely in sympathy with Josiah Warren's ideas, and who had been in Modern Times himself. They contain no reference to any existing propaganda in England. Perhaps Mr. G. J. Holyoake (who knew so well Ebenezer Edger) will be able to supply the name of the author.

These, then, are such of the scanty traces of a recognition of Anarchism in England in the early fifties as I can find. If all these authors show no sympathy for *Communism*, the reason may be the following: Communism *without* liberty had been fully tried in the Owen, Goodwyn Barby, Cabet, and other movements. The strong personalities of Owen and Cabet moreover excluded free discussion within their ranks; both were elderly men who had been in commanding positions before, and at once become uncontested chiefs followed by fanatic admirers. Those who loved freedom were necessarily repelled by this, and took before all to elaborating the fullest guarantees of personal freedom, "individual sovereignty," which they found in individualist Anarchism. Only years later, when the authoritarian founders of modern Communism had gone, the questions of solidarity, association, co-operation, free Communism could be quietly reconsidered, and Collectivism, later on Communism, were more generally adopted by Anarchists.

I need hardly add that any further indications on this subject—*g.*, where this first English propagandist pamphlet may be found, etc.—are more than welcome.

November 19, 1905.

M. N.

P. S.—Two days after writing the above, when looking over a truly remarkable collection of early literature, my eye caught a 4-page leaflet, bound up among currency tracts, which the owner, an old member of the Socialist League, with great kindness let me have, though he had only this copy of it. This is:

An Outline of the Principles, Objects, and Regulations of the London Confederation of Rational Reformers, founded August, 1853,

by a few private individuals of the middle and working classes.

This program, published after the above-mentioned 12-page tract No. 1, is an amalgamation of the Anarchist ideas of Warren and Andrews with the general demands of advanced reformers of the time. The ideas which the Americans tried to realise in small communities these Englishmen wanted applied to the whole country; hence some practical compromising, but also the idea of a broad and large propaganda.

The secretaries of the new organisation were A. McN. Dickey and A. C. Cuddon. With the second name we re-enter known territory, for this is *Ambrose Custon Cuddon*, whose articles with strong Anarchist leanings in the *Cosmopolitan Review* (London, 1861—Feb. 1, '62)—also in the "Working M" (1861-62)—I have long since noticed.

As chairman of the "Working Man's" Committee he headed the deputation which greeted Bakunin on his escape from Siberia and arrival in London, January 10, 1862; he also spoke at the famous gathering in Freemason's Hall, August 5, 1862, when the same committee welcomed the French delegates to the International Exhibition and the idea of the International Working Men's Association was first alluded to in public. He had been in America early in 1858, and as early as 1841 he was hon. secretary of the "Home Colonisation Society," an organisation with somewhat more practical, more immediate intentions than the main Owenite body—as he explained in the *New Moral World*, Leeds, February 13, March 20, 1841. The *Dictionary of National Biography* records *Ambrose Cuddon*, a Catholic publisher and journalist in the twenties. A. C. Cuddon may have been his son; neither his articles in the sixties nor the above-mentioned program, 1853, lack some useless religious phraseology. From such a comparison of ideas and style I conclude that A. C. Cuddon wrote the "Program of the Rational Reformers" of 1853, and it is at least probable to me that he was also the author of the pamphlet in question, and very likely also of the notes to Burke's *Vindication*, 1858.

November 22.

M. N.

INTERNATIONAL NOTES.

France.

Comrade Petit has begun in the *Temps Nouveaux* of October 7th and 14th a lively campaign in favour of the organisation of the shop assistants. He has already received several interesting letters from sympathisers.

Our French comrades have not missed the opportunity afforded by the annual levy of soldiers for the army, which takes place at the beginning of October, to make an active anti-militarist propaganda. The central organ of the French trade unions, *La Voix du Peuple*, has published capital articles and cartoons on this occasion, and the Labour Exchanges of several towns have taken a lively part in this agitation. It is hardly necessary to say that the middle-class Government is very much upset by this outburst. Searchings and arrests have been made in fifty towns—Brest, Chartres, Toulon, etc.—in which the Anti-Militarist Association has its branches.

We take the following from the *Demonstrator*, Washington, U.S.A.:—

"The anti-military propaganda is now well under way. In view of the fact that on May 1 the organised proletariat proposes to 'take' the eight-hour working day in spite of the Government, the watch-dog of the exploiting class, which may cause trouble, and order the military to shoot to make an 'example,' as Russia did in Odessa, the workers have placarded every city and hamlet of the country with anti-military posters inviting young men to desert from the army, and counselling the rank and file not to shoot if ordered to do so, and to disobey all commands contrary to their judgment. In Rouen eleven men were arrested while placarding such manifestoes. In Brest a bundle of the manifestoes were stolen at the post-office and two active comrades arrested. Marseilles was very thickly placarded during the night. The authorities are 'investigating.'

"The thirty-one signers of the manifesto in Paris are under arrest.

"In Epinal, Comrade V. Loquier was arrested on account of his anti-military propaganda.

"In Toulon a boat was surprised containing anti-military manifestoes and pamphlets, weighing fourteen kilos, which were to be distributed among the crew of the flagship 'Suffren.'

"The groups of Perpignan and Toulon assume their full share of the responsibility for the manifesto, and will stand by all those under arrest."

South Africa.

[Kropotkin has received the following letter from a comrade in Johannesburg].

The few papers you were good enough to send me I have received, and there was almost a free fight between the comrades for the *Kleb i Volya*. Everybody wanted it, and I have no doubt that as soon as I get the paper and literature from Geneva I shall be able to sell a lot of it.

We were all very sorry that you could not accept the offer of the British Association. It would have greatly improved your health, and besides you would have found South Africa very interesting, especially the natives. As regards the British Association, most of their work and lectures were for the benefit of the mine owners, and to such an extent that at the most important lecture which Professor Darwin delivered, the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. George Goch, who is also a wealthy mine owner, said "he hoped that when the British Association returned to England, they would tell their countrymen that Chinese labour was not a failure."

As I said before, the climate is grand out here, and besides the interesting white people here, you will find there are the natives, who are much more interesting. Personally, I believe that most of the books about the South African natives have been written in Fleet Street by persons who have never seen a nigger. I have worked in the mine with them, and lived amongst them in Cape Colony, and now I am trading with them; and I can assure you, dear comrade, that I would rather live amongst them than amongst many who call themselves "civilised." You can still find amongst them the principle of Communism—primitive Communism. If you give them a bottle of ginger beer (of which they are very fond) they will share it amongst them, and if one of them buys a loaf of bread they will sit down on the ground and divide it between them. If several should eat and others should come in hungry and without money, they would sit down and join in the meal. On Sunday, one native will buy, perhaps, half a sheep, and all his brothers will join in that feast. Next time, another brother will buy, and so on. I have seen amongst them such brotherly love, such human feelings, such help for one another that are quite unknown between "civilised" people. And yet my heart is very sore at times when I see them robbed and ill-treated. They must not walk on the pavement, but in the middle of the road. They must not ride in cabs or tram, and in the trains there are separate compartments for them, just like cattle trucks. They must have passes *a la* Russia, and are allowed to live only in the "location," those Ghettos set aside for them. They are not allowed to be in the streets after 9 p.m., in the land that was once their own—their Fatherland! I could write and write about it.

CUTTINGS AND COMMENTS.

A bright little paper, called the *Vanguard*, has been started by the Social Democrats of Cape Town, South Africa. It is edited in a broad-minded spirit, and seems full of the fighting instinct. A discussion on parliamentary methods as applied to Socialism has just concluded in No. 8. Comrade Glasse, who takes the anti-parliamentary position, finishes with the following spirited appeal:—

"To work! Let us combine as much as possible with a view to direct action. There is so much to be done, and so many ways of contributing to the work, without calling for the erection of barricades—however serviceable these may be at the right time and place.

"Among other means, strikes and boycotts, when undertaken with intelligence and carried out resolutely, are useful for cultivating a manly spirit of true comradeship, and, like preliminary skirmishes, are an excellent training for the great and final conflict—the General Strike which will also be the Social Revolution."

"A writer in the *Labour Leader*, a British publication, noting certain decisions recently rendered by the United States Supreme Court, in cases affecting the interests of the Labour movement, says:—

"As a word of explanation, let me say that in America the judges of the Supreme Court are elected by the people (a fact not generally known in England), and when elected they have more power than the House of Representatives, or even Congress. . . . The fact, however, that this decision against the workers was arrived at by a vote of five to four (a majority of one only) shows that it would be an easy matter for the worker to place a different definition on the Constitution by electing the Supreme Court judges from among those with pronounced sympathies with labour."

"Come to think of it, it seems rather strange that the American people haven't thought of this simple remedy for their troubles. By all means, let us elect another United States Supreme Court! If we can't do that we may at least elect one member of that tribunal so as to turn the minority into a majority! The possibility here suggested by our British friend will strike American readers as news of a rather amusing variety, but not more so, on the whole, than some of the news (?) concerning affairs in other countries that finds its way into the credulous columns of many American publications."—*Coast Seamen's Journal*.

"Political freedom is founded on economic freedom. No man is truly free unless he is master of the means which supply the necessities of life. Economic conditions determine every other.

"The industrial revolution began long ago. It first increased the productive capacity of labour, then increased the wealth, and next centred it in the hands of the few, and the next step in the industrial evolution is the division of wealth equitably among those who produce it.

"The millionaire and the tramp are produced by the same conditions; the one is the concomitant of the other; one has an abundance of food and no digestion, and the other an abundance of digestion but no food. In the modern times the individual possesses the collective tool of industry, and from this spring all the present wrongs. The people must sell their labour to the man who owns the collective tool of labour; thus one man controls the labour of thousands and becomes rich while the men who do the work remain poor. We have learned to produce wealth in great abundance, but we have yet to learn how to distribute it equitably.

"One-eighth of the entire population of the United States, or 10,000,000, is in a state of chronic poverty, while 3,000,000 have sunk to the bottomless depths of pauperism. The present system evolves from medieval conditions, and must soon pass away to make room for onward progress.—Eugene V. Debs in *Common Sense* of Los Angeles.

"Whut is all this talk that's in the paapers about the open shop?" asked Mr. Hennessey. "Whut is th' open shop?" said Mr. Dooley. "Shure, 'tis a shop where they kape the dure open t' accomodate th' consthant sthream of min comin' in t' take jobs cheaper thin th' min whut has th' jobs. 'Tis like this, Hinnissey,—suppose wan of these free barn Amerycan citizens is wurkin' in an open shop for th' princely wages of wan large iron dollar a day of tin hours. Along

comes another free barn son-of-a-gun, an' he sez t' th' boss: 'I think I cud handle th' job fer ninety cints.' 'Shure, sez th' boss, an' th' wan-dollar man gets th' merry, jingling can' an' goes out into th' crool world t' exercise his inalienable roights as a free barn American citizen an' scab on some other poor divil.' An' so it goes on, Hinnissey. An' who gets th' benefit? Thure, it saves th' boss money, but he don't care no more for money than he does for his roight eye. It's all principle wid him. He hates t' see his min robbed of their indepindence. They must have their indepindence, reghardliss of inything else." "But," said Mr. Hennessey, "these open-shop min ye minshun say they are fer th' unions, if properly conducted." "Shure," said Mr. Dooley, "if properly conducted. And there ye ar-re. And how wud they have thim conducted? No strikes, no rules, no contrahcts, no scales, hardly iny wages, an' dam few mimbers."

XIII. PSALM FOR SLAVES OF CAPITALISM.

The landlord is my shepherd. I shall not want (for shearing). He maketh me to knuckle down in his green pastures. He leadeth me by the nose beside the still waters of his political mud-puddle. He exploiteth my soul. He leadeth me in old paths of capitalism for his game sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of starvation and death I will fear no less evil; for thou art with me to shear me. Thy rod and thy staff they come fast upon me. Thou prepareth a table before me and banqueteth in the midst of my enemies. Thou anointeth my head with toil. My cup of sorrow runneth over. Surely, curses and poverty shall follow me all the days of my life. And I shall dwell in the rented house of the landlord for ever.
—Rev. T. W. Woodward.

REPORTS.

Liverpool.

We are in the throes of the municipal elections, and there is great stir in the political camps. Election times often give one much food for reflection. One remarkable incident of such times lies in the fact that it is only upon these occasions that our politicians become conscious of the existence of that much-suffering animal, the working man. At the present time the walls of our city are decorated with flaming posters detailing all the imaginary benefits that have resulted from the assumed efficient administration of the various political cliques. One's sense of humour is tickled as one reads the election addresses of the various candidates, in which such important items as "Cheap Tramcars" and the "Reduction of Rates" are the most prominent features. One question, and one which is a matter of much importance to the toilers, namely, the increasing army of unemployed citizens, is not worth mentioning, and scarcely important enough to find a place among the old political platitudes which have been given a coat of varnish and are now being served up to the unthinking electors.

There is one act of legislation of which the great Tory party are very proud, namely, the Aliens Act. This Act, we know, has been denounced by every right-thinking man in the kingdom, yet still the Tories are proud. One, therefore, is not surprised to find a paper like the *Liverpool Courier*, the official organ of the Tory party, throwing open its columns to one of the defenders of this infamous Act. An ex-legalised spy has been pointing out the danger run by the constitutional British public by harbouring on their hospitable shore the aliens who hold Anarchist views. One can afford to smile at such efforts to besmirch the characters of the men and women whose only crime previous to and since they landed on British soil has been to raise their voices against the tyranny and injustice perpetrated upon the toiling masses of all nations, whose Jews have enriched English literature, educated the English toiler to a sense of his true position in society, and endowed him with the noblest of ideals. If such men and women are undesirables, then heaven help the British nation.

October 30.

REBEL.

Canning Town.

The movement here has taken a fresh lease of life, the meetings being well attended, and great interest shown in the speeches. There is no lack of speakers, among those assisting being comrades Goulding, Hare, Monk, Mowbray, and Harrigan, and good work has been done by all. Owing to the large number of unemployed in the district, the sale of literature has not been very large, but with better times it will undoubtedly improve, and altogether the outlook is very promising. Comrades from other parts are invited to help at these meetings, which are held on Sunday mornings (11.30) at the corner of Woodstock Street, near Canning Town Station (G.E.R.), and at Beckton Road, Canning Town, in the evening (7 o'clock).

Clapham.

On Sunday, November 26, at Morris Hall (I.L.P.), North Street, Comrade Marsh gave an address on "Anarchism in Theory and Action." Owing to the bad weather, the attendance was small, but the interest shown by those present made up for the lack of numbers. Our comrade's statement of Anarchist Communism gave great satisfaction, as it was something entirely different from the political palaver which is usually heard at I.L.P. meetings—in London, at any rate. The questions and discussion showed a real desire on the part of those present to get at the truth of Anarchism; and altogether the meeting was such a success that it is probable that Comrade Marsh will shortly have another chance of explaining our ideas. It is quite evident that if those comrades who can address meetings would come out of their shells, there are plenty of opportunities for them to do good work in London.

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TO THE UNEMPLOYED.

Why are you out of work?

Rich people say—because you are an idler. But you know that this is one of their pious lies.

Politicians, lawyers, and landlords say because there is over-production—too much of everything—or because there is over-population. But all these are a set of lies only to divert your attention from the real cause.

There are not too many workers in the land, but too many people who live on the labourers' backs; too many drones in the beehive.

There is no over-production, but under-production.

Is there too much bread in this country? Have we it cheaper than in other countries? Not at all.

Is there too much meat? Is it sold at a few farthings a pound, and yet find no buyers? No; its price goes up every year.

Too much coal, perhaps—so that our wives don't know how to get rid of it?

Too many cheap houses for the working men?

Too much clothing in working men's dwellings? Too many cottons? Too many blankets for our little ones?

There is nothing of the sort. Bread, meat, coals, cottons, blankets—everything is too dear for the working man. He cannot buy with his scanty wages what he wants of bread and other things.

Everything grows dearer every year.

Every year there are in the shops more luxuries for the idle gentry, and less necessities for those who work with their hands.

Why is it so?

Sixteen million acres of good, arable land remain idle in Great Britain, while wheat, meat, butter, cheese, eggs, are imported from other lands. Why should we not grow them at home?

Two million Englishmen and Scotchmen live in abominable slums. Why should we not build cheap houses for them? Why should not the cities themselves begin that building at once?

Why should miners be idle and scoundrelly mine-owners raise the price of coal at will? Why should not the miners have the mines, and work them for the benefit of the working men?

The land, the mines, the town lands, the quarries—everything is now owned by the rich, and the rich don't want that we, common workers, should earn an honest living. They are afraid we should become too independent, if we don't starve from time to time.

If all the English working men died of starvation, the rich Englishman wouldn't care a straw. They have plenty of blacks in Africa, plenty of starving peasants in Egypt, in Turkey, in China—everywhere—who will work for them on the land or in the factories, for a few pence a day. There, in those foreign lands, they invest their capital, which they have sweated out of us here. It pays them better to build railways, gun factories, cotton mills all over the world, and to keep the land of England for their pleasure, while we starve unemployed.

Enough of that!

We must take and manage that land, those mines, those town lands! They are ours, and nobody else's. We want that land, those mines, those factories—not to keep them idle, but to get out of them what we, the whole nation, want for our living.

Let all unemployed working men come together in every town. Let us all see what there is to be done.

Then let us go in a mass to our Urban and County Councils, and make them understand it is food we need at once, then work.

No so-called relief work, no work for charity, but real work, useful work.

[We make no apologies for reprinting the above from *Freedom* of January, 1903. It is unfortunately as true now as then.]

South America.

The Government of Argentina has again declared martial law—a repetition of its tactics of 1902, established in order to destroy the labour organisations. Martial law in Argentina means complete suspension of the legal or constitutional rights of the citizens. This state of affairs was inaugurated by the ruling classes with the help of the governmental machine in order to prevent the workers from uniting and obtaining better conditions. During the time of handling the crops is the best time to strike, and the only opportunity to make demands upon the exploiters. The workmen several times took advantage of this opportunity, but now that the Government has shown itself to be emphatically a capitalist auxiliary their tactics will have to be changed. It is a sure thing that as long as the workers will vote for a Government they will have one to oppress them. All methods justify the ends of plutocracy; workers should bear this in mind and be on their guard.

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(October and November.)

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